1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The influence of the
791 medicine man is due to his supposed power of prophecy and
787 divination. No explanation is offered of this power, nor does it appear that the Laibons are believed to enjoy the acquaintance and assistance of definite spiritual beings; but they can foretell the future by such methods as throwing stones out of a horn, inspecting the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when intoxicated with honey wine. Great, however, as is their influence, it does not appear that either among the Masai or
[171] the Nandi, where similar institutions prevail, they have ever attempted to assume a position like that of the various small sultans of the coast or the kings to the west of Lake Victoria.

791 The most celebrated of these medicine men was Mbatian, the father of the present holder of the office, Lenana, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having prophesied outbreaks of cattle plague and small-pox, which duly came to pass; and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Masai be friendly to them, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by
173 a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to
791 the details of the story, but, according to the versions taken
662 down by Mr. Hollis (p. 327), Mbatian told his eldest son Sendeyo that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Laibon, of which the principal is an iron club. Lenana, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Mbatian, who was very aged and had only one eye, behaved much like Isaac in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying 'Thou shalt be great among thy brothers and among all the people.' In any case, Lenana succeeded,
791 and was accepted as Laibon by all the Masai except the Loita.
508 This created a division in the tribe, and as it roughly
619 corresponded with the division between British and German territory, Sendeyo was long regarded as the chief of the German Masai and Lenana of the British. But in 1904 Sendeyo quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

776 The religious ideas of the Masai, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Eng-ai, which it will be observed is a substantive with a *feminine* article. Eng-ai appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ore'M-Batyany na ol-mórno kitok eata eng-ólgu naíso aká, nemukí en-gurúi eíye, neíshu 'n-dítkitia o-'l-eíloni, na ol-kuma le-'nghongúi, o en-gídelig, o ol-tulet, o en-bese, o 'n-dítu o-'n-eíloni,' ntje: 'Iye aítore 'l-alashore lisítue o ol-orere pikin.'

Ne'ye Ol-Ónana 'n-dítkitia o-'l-eíloni, naíe.

Ore ɣ' eílip sakítue, nejíkg Senítu eng-ají e-mányo, ntjíkisi: 'Ol-alashe lino o'yawa 'n-dítkitia o-'l-eíloni.' Nagore naíekg Senítu, ntje: 'Maítore ol-alashe lai, aarare ee matua.'

Ónana ntú 'M-Batyany, nemukuri ta-'l-Duíayo Orok.

Ore ɣ' eílip atua, ntje kulikue-tatgunuk: 'Ol-Ónana ol-eíloni lakg, anu etiaka 'yunk 'M-Batyany, [1] Aiabo 'n-dítkitia o-'l-eíloni en-gurúi ol aare ol-eíloni lingí.'[2] Netuni te-ilye saleítare Ol-Ónana.

Kake tje kulikue: 'Muse ol-eíloni lakg eíle, anu etiaíjuke.' Nagwo ntúje eanuj Senítu.

Now Mbatian was very aged and he had only one eye. He therefore did not see which of his sons was before him and gave to Lenana the insignia of the medicine-man (the iron club and the medicine horn, the gourd, the stones[1], and the bag), at the same time saying: 'Thou shalt be great amongst thy brothers and amongst all the people.'

Lenana took the medicine-man's insignia and went away.

Sendeyo then went to his father, but was told that his brother had already been there and been given the medicine-man's insignia. When he heard this, he was very angry and said: 'I will not be subject to my brother; I will fight with him till I kill him.'

Mbatian died and was buried near Donyo Erok.

When he was dead, some of the people proclaimed Lenana principal medicine-man, 'for,' they said, 'Mbatian told us that he would give the insignia of his office to whichever of his sons he wished should succeed him.' They therefore remained with Lenana.

But others said: 'We will not acknowledge this man for he is a ghost,' and they threw in their lot with Sendeyo[2].

[1] It is possible that these stones, which according to tradition were brought many years ago from the north, may prove to be of some interest. It is asserted that no European has ever been allowed to behold them.

[2] This is the story as told by the Masai. The official version is that Lenana was chosen by the elders of most of the clans and districts on his father's death, but that Sendeyo refused to acknowledge him, and was

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ore kulo-nukitare saboitare Sendeu, nanwoiyo, nâ 'l-kanuk, nanata 'n-gishu enye, ntar ai 'l-Dashi. Ore kulo ntotondo saboitare Ol-Onana, naiu enwoiyo, natum in-gishu, ana na-nitije 'M-Baiyuny.

Ntare Ol-Onana o Sendeu 'l-ntie kanuk, ntari Sendeu, naitu te-'lie-ari le-ligolo nami ol-alashe, naishori etom saboitie, naiuye o-alitwa.

Ore ten etae en-nâ Ol-Onana, ingolo en-gurai enye naiyitie en-ailage.

Ore en-dikî kituk te-'l-aibusi naa ol-kuma le-'ng-kongi. Ore ten airiwua ol-aibusi ol-killikwai pe ejiki 'l-nidgenak titki, nairiwua ol-kuma laupe pe enilig li-nidgenak o-rorai laupe.

Naa, ten duak ol-aibusi ol-nidgusi te-'l-kuma le-'ng-

Now disease broke out amongst Sendeyo's people, many of whom died, their cattle all perished, and they were defeated by the Germans; whilst those people who remained with Lenana did not fall ill, and they obtained cattle, as Mbatian had predicted. 193 578 791 628

The two rivals waged war for many years, and eventually Sendeyo was beaten. He came in 1902 to beg his brother to allow him to live with him, and peace was concluded between the two parties.

Before Lenana dies he will select whichever of his sons is acquainted with the work of the medicine-men to succeed him. 791

The principal badge of the medicine-man's office is the iron club[1]. If the medicine-man sends a messenger to tell his people anything, he also sends his club so that it may be known that the message comes from him. 791 243

Should a medicine-man strike anybody with the iron club, that [753]

supported by the 'l-oitai (i.e. the Masai of the 'l-oitia sub-district, near Kilima Njaro), with whom he lived for many years. The warriors of the two parties frequently met in deadly strife, and raided each other's cattle. In 1902 Sendeyo gave up the hopeless conflict, and agreed to acknowledge his brother as chief. He now lives not far from Naivasha. Lenana himself says that he and his three brothers Sendeyo, Nailang, and Tilito were circumcised by their father a short time before the latter's death, and as he possessed a better knowledge of the work of the medicine-men than his brothers, he was given the iron club, &c., and chosen by the elders as Mbatian's successor. [578] [175] [791] [193]

[1] On one occasion the iron club was lost. A messenger was sent by Lenana to the Government authorities at Nairobi, and when crossing the Uganda Railway he was overtaken by a train. He jumped on one side and saved his life, but dropped the club, which was never found again. Its place was taken for some years by a small iron picker, but another club has now been made.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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824 283 Il-kĭk ooitaunyeki 'ng-opit:

1. Ol-mesera.
2. Ol-darpoi.
3. Ol-dŏpai.
4. Ol-tepesi.
5. Ol-depe.
6. Ol-churai.
7. Ol-musalala.

The trees from which rope is made:

1. *Adansonia digitata*, L.
2. *Kigelia africana*, Bth.[1]
3. *Sansevieria cylindrica*, Boj.
4. *Acacia Seyal*, Delile.
5. *Acacia Merkeri*, Harms.
6. *Acacia robusta*, Burch.
7. *Musa Ensete*, J. F. Gmel.

Ol-chani ooitaunye 'l-muran 'ng-opit naashetye 'l-taighan:

The tree from which the warriors obtain the cord for binding their plaits with:

824 154 155 678 O-reteti.

Ore sii ten edek ol-tuĭgani ol-likae, pe ebaiki en-diata, neipot ol-likae motu anotaki, nĭĭniki eng-opito o-'reteti, nepik 'n-guti-alle nairŏua oo 'musetani oĭgwan.

Ficus, near *F. elegans*, Miq.

If one man curses another, and the curse takes effect, the man who has been cursed calls the other and asks him to spit on him and to tie on his arm a strip of cord made from this fig-tree. The cord is first of all dipped in hot milk and then four beads are threaded on it.

824 Il-kĭk ooitaunye 'l-oibonok 'maabon:

1. Ol-oirien o-'l-tarakwai.

The trees used by the medicine-men in making their medicines:

1. The heart-wood of *Juniperus procera*, Hochst.

2. 'Ng-abŏbok oo 'n-dana o-'l-mokongora.

2. The roots and stalks of *Lantana sp.*

3. O-seki. Ninye ol-chani aidai too-'l-Maasae; esta 'maabon enye nasji Ol-okĭra, neitau 'l-oibonok.

[789] 3. *Cordia ovalis*, R. Br. This tree is thought much of by the Masai, and a charm made from it, which the medicine-men use, is called Ol-okora. It has, too, an edible fruit, called The berries of the Cordia, which the children are fond of.

[262] Esta sii 'l-ĭgunaiyuk ooince kn-gera ntji 'N-gulalu o-'seki.

4. 'Ng-abobok o-'l-kinga.

4. The bark of *Cussonia sirpata*, Brongn.

5. 'N-dana o-'l-asaitai.

5. The roots of *Capsia tenuifolia*, Engl.

[1] Or *Kigelia pinnata*, DC.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

752 eito, nłĭn 'ñgonyo pe etum ăitírie inne-wĕji netigile.

232 Neiyŭlŭu sii 'l-abaak aategelem araki ăidoñgo 'l-oiñgok, oo 'l-merigeshi, oo 'l-oroi. Ore ten egelem il-oiñgok, negor te-'n-gĭne ol-gos, pe etum aataĭgor ten eitaabe e-ñgony, anu ejo ieni maĭgor, neijŭyu 'mpo.

a ligature round the limb and amputate it.

The surgeons are also able to castrate bulls, rams, and he-goats by either removing or crushing the testicles. When bulls are castrated, a cord is fastened tightly round their necks and blood is extracted from the jugular veins to prevent inflammation of the injured parts[1].

195 Il-deketa loo-'l-Maasae.

578 Ol-akaishopo en-napyak!
Mikinjopo en-napyak!
Mikinjírie eng-Ai!
Mikinoss ol-ŏwaru!
Injirtita!
Imbusu!

[illegible] 'n-jŏai!

Tanaĭga náisula!

Todoru!
Tanaĭga aĭgata!
Mikitaara 'l-kuliayi!

Ten edek il-Maasae 'n-gura, nemedek naleĭg, aajo:

E-eit!
En-gumata!

Masai curses.

May you be clothed with an incurable disease!
May God trouble you!
May a beast of prey devour you!
Slip on the road and fall!
May you become the colour of a corpse!
May God give you a robe of leather! (i.e. may your cattle die, in which case you will be forced to do manual labour.)
Die with those who have been conquered!
Die when the sun sets!
Die in the plain!
May your own people kill you!

When the Masai curse children, they do not call them very bad names. They say, for instance:

Stone!
Fit!

626 En-giterejata oo-'l-Maasae.

Ten ejo el-lee oo-'l-Maasae en-dĭki, pe ejĭ el-lajara, ore

Masai form of oath.

If a Masai man says something, and it is believed to be a lie, it is

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[1] A description of the operation was given in The Fairbairn (Hardy), October, 1901.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 554 from the senior *moran*". To these, according to MERKER, p. 82, should be added the formation of the initiates' segregated village (*manyatta*).[85]

561 578 The behaviour set up by seniority relationship is one of open rivalry between the two adjacent units. Members of the senior unit look down with contempt on those of the junior unit and the latter retaliate as best as they can. The conflicts and clashes which ensue seem to be accepted as a normal social institution and in fact they are looked upon with favour.

FOSBROOKE,[86] notes that initiates make no formal demand for the above mentioned privileges of seniority. "The juniors", he writes, "will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will promptly be beaten up and retract. This process continues till wounds become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy, they graciously hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the *Unoto* ceremony". A detailed description of the same process is given by MERKER.[87]

561 The claim for the privileges of seniority and the *Unoto* ceremony mark the final stage of the official period for performing individual initiations and therefore for instituting the age-unit. There is a certain regular interval between these ceremonies, which our authorities try to estimate in terms of years. It seems, however, that the deciding factors are, the adjustment between the senior and junior initiates, the former handing over the privileges of seniority to the latter, and the agreement of the *piron-elders* that the proper time has come for closing the age-unit period.

VI – THE FINAL INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-UNIT[88]

88A 561 The final institution of the age-unit is brought about by the performance of the *Unoto* ceremony. This is described by FOSBROOKE,[89] as "the ceremony of promotion from junior to senior

[85] FOSBROOKE in his chart, p. 34, puts this immediately following the period of the individual initiation (circumcision) of each unit.

[86] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 29.

[87] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 80 ss.

[88] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 71 s.; BAGGE, *l. c.*, p. 167; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 299 ss.; SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, pp. 68 ss.; *MS* 42, p. 3; *NAD*, 1922, p. 21; LEAKEY, *l. c.*, pp. 194 ss.; FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 451 s.; WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, pp. 180 ss.; *NAD*, 1934, pp. 22 s.; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 29 s.

[89] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 29.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *par-sidan* or *yeiyo*, as the case may be, are *pa-kiteñg*, *pa-ashe*, or *pa-supen*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-ashe*; and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kine*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with [595] a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *na-ëlai* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-ashe*; a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-sighiria*; and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-kiteñg*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-oiñgoni* instead of *papa* and *li-ayoni*; a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-oro* or *pa-merregesh* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-kiteñg*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-moñyi*, the bullock; *pa-kishe*, the cows; *pa-oiñgoni*, the bull; *pa-'n-dauwo*, the heifer; *pa-buñgwi*, the bull calf; *pa-ashe*, the calf; *pa-kuo*, *pa-oro*, or *pa-silima*, the he-goat; *pa-kine*, the she-goat; *pa-lalelo*, the kid; *pa-kerr*, the ewe; *pa-merregesh*, the ram; *pa-sighiria*, the donkey; *pa-supen*, the ewe lamb; *pa-mao*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-oiñgoni*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-oro*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-kiteñg* and *pa-kerr*. These presents have nothing [583] to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

604 578 754 A maternal uncle (*ol-apu*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to [593] disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do 593 626 754 so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

discarded their old formations, adversities of various descriptions have introduced the necessity of undertaking manual labour in portions of each reserve and a succession of punitive expeditions or displays of force, the last of which occurred some ten years ago, has brought home to them a conception of the power of the Government, a realization which has tended towards a more progressive attitude owing to the diminution which it caused in their minds of the influence held by their medicine-men. No punitive expedition has ever been undertaken against the Masai, an omission which was very largely due to the authority and sagacity of Lenana, the chief medicine-man at the time when the European Government was first encountered, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Further, the Masai now thoroughly realize how vulnerable they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their enormous, immobile herds would immediately be lost and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be attained. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative, so far forget what they consider to be their best interests as to cause a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the perpetuation in their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

The tribal formation of the Masai.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai tribe originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the former and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, mainly in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Nguruman, is to be found at the north end of Lake Natron, but that is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people now show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented in the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section.

Social system of the pastoral section. "L-Ayok." "Muran."

According to the social system of this section, the male sex is divided into boys, warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "L-Ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Muran," those who have been circumcised at about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Muran" remain on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Sirits," which live in separate villages, or "Manyattas," some of these containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Muran" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the armed prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribed as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

The effect of the military organization.

This military organization of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

* Sir Charles Eliot, November, 1904, Introduction to "The Masai: Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

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The Meeting of December 5th, 1912.

On December 5th, 1912, the Governor met the Masai chiefs at Nakuru. The remarks then made by Legalishu and his adherents were evasive, and no attempt was made to express their true feelings in the matter or to disclose their reasons for taking legal proceedings against the Government. The Governor was of opinion that only a minority of the tribal elders, headed by Legalishu and Masikondi, were responsible for this action, ostensibly on behalf of their tribe, and that the personal avidity and ambition of those two men were doubtless contributory causes of their organized opposition to the approved Government policy. Those who opposed the move had no valid ground for their objection as to the unsuitability of the new country to which they were being moved.

Completion of the move.

On the 9th of April, 1913, Sir Henry Belfield informed the Secretary of State that the Masai move was completed. With the exception of Il Dala Lekutuk division all the Laikipia Masai were located in the extended Reserve, while that division, after remaining for some months on the Uaso Nyiro, moved to the Kaputiei country and settled there. Reports showed that the losses suffered by the Masai on account of the move had been very small. Rinderpest was rife, both in Laikipia and the south, from which many hundreds of beasts died, but the veterinary officers who were in charge of both areas did all that was possible to prevent the spread of the disease. Sheep suffered on one or two occasions, but only a few succumbed. Two drifts were being used, each with an officer in control, and of the thousands of sheep at these drifts not one was lost. The death rate of the Masai themselves, directly attributable to the move, was probably nil. On the whole, the Masai behaved well throughout, and there was very little friction with settlers. Statistics show that the number of Masai moved between the 10th of June, 1912, and the 27th of March, 1913, was 462 warriors, 1,820 other males, 4,031 women and 3,751 children, a total of 10,064 souls, while nearly 200,000 head of cattle and 550,000 sheep were counted. The number of sheep is probably very greatly underestimated. The Secretary of State expressed his appreciation of the manner in which the delicate and difficult task had been performed.

Attitude of the Masai after the move.

On the completion of the move the Purko division evinced a considerable disinclination to cross the Mara River, but no steps were taken to induce them to do so and a large number of Masai, including all the Purko Muran, moved into the trans-Mara region in September, 1913.

The Masai did not, on the whole, settle down contentedly in their new surroundings and they showed a disposition to make the worst of everything. Complaints were incessant that the country was unsuitable for them and for their stock, and every device short of active resistance was employed to obstruct the Administration and to defeat the ends of justice. Information concerning crimes was withheld, and escaped prisoners were assisted and harboured. Chiefs and elders proved anything but helpful and were occasionally almost defiant. The "Masai Case" was undoubtedly responsible for much of this feeling, but it is also probable that the natives resented the closer administration which had been rendered possible by the amalgamation of the two reserves.

This discontented feeling began to disappear some six months after the completion of the move and raids, murders and stock thefts decreased in number. Two years after their arrival the Masai could be described as contented and happy in spite of their dissatisfied disposition.

Disputes with previous residents.

Prior to the arrival of the Masai from Laikipia, the country constituting the extended Southern Reserve had been occupied by members of the Loita, Damat, Kakonyukye and Siria tribal divisions as well as by about one-quarter of the Purko division. These sections had undertaken to move to Laikipia in 1904, but succeeded in evading the terms of their agreement with the Government and, while admitting that they had no claim to the land, occupied the area and came to regard it as their own. By these Masai the arrival of their fellows from Laikipia was resented, while the latter were displeased at finding the best grazing grounds already taken up. A considerable amount of friction ensued, more particularly between the Purko and Il Damat divisions.

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Relations between the Purko and Damat. 578 628

Some years previously the Damat division had been almost annihilated by the Purko and many of the survivors had been forced to throw in their lot with their conquerors owing to the loss of all their possessions. In subsequent successful wars waged by the Purko they had received their share of the booty, and had thus come once more to possess large herds of sheep and cattle. They now expressed a desire to rejoin their own tribal division, but the Purko maintained that if they did so they must hand back those possessions which they had acquired as a result of the Purko raids. This question was not settled until April, 1918, when, at the inaugural meeting of the Masai Council, Olo Kataign, President of the Damat Council, agreed that the Damat should continue as a part of the Purko division.

Relations with the Lumbwa 648*

Masai and Lumbwa at first regarded each other with suspicion and dislike. Thefts and counter-thefts were common and precautions had to be taken to preserve peace between the Muran of the two tribes. This ill-feeling nearly came to a head towards the end of 1912, when a party of Masai Muran made a raid on a Lumbwa village and murdered several people, but no actual trouble occurred, and the presence of the Masai on the Lumbwa borders has now ceased to give cause for anxiety, though occasional thefts still occur.

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The matter was discussed in Executive Council on the 21st of June, 1917, when Mr. Hemsted, who was present, stated that there could be no doubt that the members of those "Sirita" were well aware of the identity of the murderers and were deliberately shielding them from justice. Several murders of Kikuyu had recently occurred in or near the Masai Reserve, and an exemplary punishment was considered necessary. A fine of Rs. 20,000 was accordingly imposed on each of the three "Sirita," the total fine amounting to Rs. 60,000. The Secretary of State conveyed his sanction by despatch, on the 23rd of August, 1917. Some seventeen hundred head of cattle were seized in August as security for the payment of the fine, but, by October, no portion of the fine had been paid in cash. Instructions were, therefore, issued for the fine to be recovered by distress, by the sale of the cattle to realize the amount of the fine imposed. This sale was postponed owing to an outbreak of lung-disease among the herds.

*C48 Permission to shoot lions, December, 1916.

52. Owing to complaints by the Masai of the damage done to their stock by lions, and on account of several incidents where natives had been killed by these beasts, permission was granted in December, 1916, to District Officers working in the Masai Reserve, to shoot lions in the Southern Game Reserve, in cases where there was good reason to believe that the animals were dangerous.

Move of the Kakonyukye Division to Ngong Hills, December, 1916.

53. Owing to the constant trespassing by the Kakonyukye Masai on the farms in the Kedong Valley, that division was moved in December, 1916, and was located in the vicinity of the Ngong Hills, an area which had, for some time past, been practically unused.

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As the Kakonyukye cattle were highly susceptible to East Coast fever, it became necessary to erect a cattle dip for them, the dip already in existence at Ngong being insufficient for their requirements. The site selected for the new cattle dip was near the Kiserian Stream, ten miles south of Ngong, and its construction was approved on the 9th of January, 1917.

*C48 579 Murders near Dagoretti, March, 1917.

54. In March, 1917, a young man and three boys were brutally murdered within a short distance of the Masai border, near Dagoretti. The circumstances of the crime pointed strongly to the fact that the Masai must have been the offenders, but there was no evidence of their complicity and no punishment was inflicted.

Murder of two Kikuyu boys, May, 1917.

55. In May, 1917, some Kikuyu were attacked while grazing their cattle in their reserve within one mile of the Masai boundary, and two boys were killed with spears. A witness, who saw the whole incident, escaped with his life, and subsequently gave evidence to the effect that the murderers were a band of Masai. In the judicial proceedings which ensued, the absence of any motive for such a deed on the part of the neighbouring Kikuyu was clearly established, while a motive was present in regard to the youths of the Masai tribe, as it was by native custom necessary in certain circumstances for such youths to have blooded their spears before admission to the forthcoming E-Unoto ceremony. It proved impossible to trace any of the individual criminals, but it was considered that sufficient grounds existed for holding five divisions of the Masai tribe, resident in the neighbourhood, responsible for the outrage. The perpetration of a number of murders of the same nature and in the same area a short time previous to this crime, in no one of which had sufficient evidence been obtainable to warrant the imposition of a collective punishment, influenced the Governor in determining the severity of the penalty to be inflicted in this case and, as it appeared that the belief was growing among the Masai that they would escape punishment for such deeds if they were performed outside the limits of their own reserve, he determined to make the punishment an exemplary one, and a fine of Rs. 20,000 was imposed under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on each of the Masai divisions implicated, namely, the Sighirari, L'Odo Kilani, Matapatu, Kaputiei and Il Dala Lokutuk divisions. It was decided that, from the proceeds of the fine, blood money should be paid to the relatives of the two Kikuyu victims.

*648 578 561 628 Unrest among the Purko Masai, June, 1917.

56. Early in June, 1917, unrest was reported among the Murua of the Purko and Loita tribes. On the evening of June 2nd, the Purko commenced operations for an attack on the Loita, and the District Commissioner, Narok, who followed

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them as far as Narosura on the following day, failed to get in touch with them, they having proceeded to Loita country. On the evening of the 4th of June, the Purko returned below the Oonbugo, and on the night of the 5th proceeded to Endasegera, having refused to listen to the advice of certain elders who went to restrain them. On the 8th of June, the Purko returned home. No fight occurred, the intervention of certain Muran of the Il Merisho Sirit having prevented bloodshed, and the influence of the elders being then sufficient to turn the Muran back. Throughout the disturbance, the medicine-man, Sendeu, was protected by the Muran of the Il Merisho Sirit.

In spite of the fact that this incident resulted in no serious trouble, recent events sufficiently indicated that the Purko Muran were a little out of hand, both as regards the Government and their own chiefs and headmen. Additional police were, therefore, procured for temporary duty in the Masai Reserve. The measures adopted to bring them under better administrative control included a visit by the District Commissioners of Narok and Mara to each of the Purko Muran villages, where all Muran from each village were interviewed. Legalishu, Masikondi, Ole Kotekosh, and the principal Aigwenak of the elders and Muran were present, and Seggi joined the party later. The ringleaders were arrested, all outstanding fines from the Muran were collected, and a number of bullocks and donkeys were procured for the Military Supply Corps. These measures were completed before the end of August. No opposition or obstruction to Government orders had been offered by the Muran, and although the relations between the Purko and Loita divisions continued to be somewhat strained, it appeared that they were convinced that Government would not tolerate a breach of the peace and, as Mr. Hemsted reported that he saw no reason to fear any recrudescence of the trouble, the additional police were withdrawn.

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87. In August, 1917, Mr. A. Morrison, the lawyer who had been appointed counsel for the Masai in the "Masai Case," brought a civil claim for some Rs. 26,000 against the chiefs and elders concerned in that case. The case was heard in the High Court, Nairobi, in January, 1918, and the action was dismissed with costs. Mr. Morrison's case, August, 1917.

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL.12 Masai FL.12 Uasin Gishu

CHAPTER XI.

THE UASIN GISHU MASAI.

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The Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve—The extension of the reserve—Statistics of the Uasin Gishu Masai—Further extension of the reserve—Discussions between Lumbwa and Walk Kondi—Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve boundaries.

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In 1860, the Uasin Gishu Masai inhabited the plateau named after them. They were defeated in battle by the other Masai, and were scattered to various parts of the country, some going to the ravine, others to Nandi, and others to Kavirondo. Those located in the ravine rendered considerable assistance to Government in the early days of administration, and acquired a certain amount of wealth.

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The Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve.

The attention of the Government was first called to the necessity of creating a reserve for the Uasin Gishu Masai by Mr. Foaker, District Commissioner at Eldama Ravine, in February, 1904, soon after Lord Delamere had been granted a lease of a large area in the neighbourhood. Mr. Foaker asked that 100,000 acres might be reserved for them, and that the salt licks on Lord Delamere's land might be included in the reserve. No attempt was made to form a native reserve, but Lord Delamere was informed by the Land Officer on February 22nd, 1904, that, as the Uasin Gishu Masai had rights over the salt licks on his land, they must be given uninterrupted access thereto at any time.

Further large grants of land were made to Europeans near the Ravine Station in 1904, and, on the arrival of a surveyor, in January, 1905, to survey other farms in the neighbourhood, Mr. Foaker pointed out that great injustice was being done to the Uasin Gishu Masai.

The Land Officer thereupon reserved the only land then available—some 10,000 acres—which was for the most part stony and barren and had consequently not been applied for by Europeans.

The extension of the Reserve.

After the Nandi Expedition in 1906 it was decided to move to the ravine those Uasin Gishu Masai who had gone to live with the Nandi. This was done, with the result that the reserve became very congested.

In October, 1906, Mr. Hobley wrote to the Commissioner of Lands asking that the area reserved for the Uasin Gishu Masai might be increased, as it was inadequate. He also asked that a right of way to the salt licks on Mr. Hotz's land and Captain Grogan's grazing farm should be reserved for them. In February, 1908, Colonel Montgomery, accompanied by Mr. Bagge, then Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, proceeded to the ravine where he interviewed the Uasin Gishu Masai and visited their reserve. Colonel Montgomery was convinced that they had not enough land, and proposed the re-acquisition of some of the farms in the neighbourhood, a proposal which was agreed to by the Governor.

In 1909 and 1910 four farms on the Molo River, aggregating 21,972 acres, were re-acquired, and the Uasin Gishu Masai were informed that they might occupy those areas. A right of way from the Molo River to the salt lick on Mr. Hotz's farm was also reserved for them.

On February 6th, 1911, the Acting Governor interviewed the Uasin Gishu Masai Elders. The Masai complained that their reserve was still far too small for them and that they had not enough salt for their herds. They asked for permission to continue living on the unoccupied farms in the neighbourhood, paying rent in kind as heretofore to the various landlords who were, for the most part, absentees. They were informed that they must move into their reserve and that, if it was not large enough, they must sell their surplus stock. The Acting Governor agreed to their having a right of way to the salt lick on Captain Grogan's farm. The Masai were also informed that, in all probability, a cattle tax in lieu of hut tax would be imposed on pastoral tribes in the near future.

Prior to the meeting, Mr. Hollis visited the Uasin Gishu Native Reserve and several of the adjoining farms and obtained the following information. The Uasin Gishu Masai in this area numbered in all between 1,400 and 1,800 souls, and paid tax on 440 huts. They possessed 15,000 head of cattle and 25,000 sheep and goats. 4,000 head of these cattle were in the habit of grazing on land belonging to Captain Grogan, who received toll in bullocks at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum. There were 30 kraals on Lord Delamere's land, containing 3,000 head of cattle, which were allowed this privilege without payment. The remaining 7,000 or 8,000 cattle were for the most part in the Native Reserve.

Statistics of the Uasin Gishu Masai. G48* 231 [162-651]

The two reserves occupied by the Uasin Gishu Masai in February, 1911, were separated by a strip of alienated land, and steps were taken to re-acquire parts of adjacent farms belonging to Captain Grogan which would join these two areas and form one native reserve having an area of some 40,000 acres. The Masai were informed that, when this reserve had been allotted to them, they must regard the question of boundaries as definitely settled. They were also given to understand that, in lieu of hut tax, they would be required to pay a cattle tax of R. 1 per head or a stock tax of one beast out of every herd of 100 cattle, sheep or goats.

Further extension of the reserve. G48* 311

In July, 1911, the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, reported that dissensions had occurred between Chief Lembere and the hereditary Laibon, Walikondi, leading men in the Masai Reserve. Lembere had been constituted Chief by Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson when he was stationed at Ravine and had acquired a considerable following. Charges of witchcraft had been brought against Walikondi, with the result that he requested permission to move, with the other Masai, from Laikipia into the Southern Masai Reserve. His following expressed a desire to accompany him. It seemed, however, that such a movement would be the cause of friction between the Uasin Gishu and the other Masai, who have *little* in common, and it was decided to hold the matter over, at any rate until the Masai Move was an accomplished fact.

Disturbances between Lembere and Walikondi. G48* 598 754 791

In May, 1912, the sanction of the Secretary of State was requested to an exchange of land held by Captain Grogan in the Naivasha Province for an area on the Athi Plains. Captain Grogan was willing to exchange 16,638 acres, to be used for an extension of the Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve, for 30,000 acres on the Athi Plains. The Secretary of State approved this arrangement in June, 1912, and the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, was instructed to take steps to mark out the extended Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve.

G48*

A description of the Uasin Gishu Masai Native Reserve was accordingly drawn up, and read as follows:—

Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve boundaries. G48* 131

"The reserve is divided into three parts:

"No. 1. Commencing at the point where the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road crosses the Enaroseuro (or Nassour) River the boundary follows the right bank of this river down stream to its junction with the Esageri (or Sageri) River; thence along the left bank of the Esageri River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road; thence along this road in the direction of Eldama Ravine to the point of commencement.

"No. 2. Commencing at the point where the Esageri River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows that road in the direction of Nakuru to the most northerly corner or portion L.O. 487; thence in south-westerly direction along the western boundary of L.O. 487 to its intersection with the eastern boundary to L.O. 502; thence northerly and westerly along the eastern and northern boundaries of portion L.O. 502 to the Esageri River; thence along the right bank of the Esageri River down stream to the point of commencement.

"No. 3. Commencing at the most westerly corner of portion L.O. No. 486 on the Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows the western boundaries of L.O. 485, 484, 483, 661 in a north-easterly direction to the most northerly corner of the latter (which is also the western corner of L.O. 662); thence in a south-easterly direction along the southern boundary of L.O. 662 to the Molo River;

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FLI2 Masai FLI2

arm. A beaded belt confines it round the waist, leaving only one limb partly exposed. Frequently it is slipped off the shoulder, and depends entirely from the waist, leaving the bosom exposed. Their ornaments are of a very remarkable nature. Round the legs from the ankles to the knees telegraph wire is coiled closely in spiral fashion. So awkward is this ornament that the wearer cannot walk properly, she cannot sit down or rise up like any other human being, and she cannot run. Round the arms she has wire similarly coiled both above and below the elbow. Round the neck more iron wire is coiled—in this case, however, horizontally—till the head seems to sit on an inverted iron salver. When the leg-ornaments are once on they must remain till finally taken off, as it requires many days of painful work to fit them into their places. They chafe the ankles excessively, and evidently give much pain. As they are put on when very young, the calf is not allowed to develop, and the consequence is, that when grown up the legs remain at a uniform thickness from ankle to knee—mere animated stilts, in fact. The weight of this armour varies according to the wealth of the parties, up to thirty pounds. Besides the iron wire, great quantities of beads and iron chains are disposed in various ways round the neck. 291 301

Such, then, were the people that now greeted Moran, who, being a novice, had to suffer a good deal of chaff from both sexes. He was, however, soon initiated into the mysteries of a warrior kraal, and had seen a bit of life. The strictest diet imaginable was the rule. He had to be content with absolutely nothing but meat and milk. Tobacco or snuff, beer or spirits, vegetable food of all kinds, even the flesh of all animals except cattle, sheep, and goats, were alike eschewed. To eat any of those articles was to be degraded—to lose caste; to be offered them was to be insulted in the deepest manner. As if these rules were not strict enough, he must needs not be seen eating meat in the kraal, neither must he take it along with milk: So many days were devoted entirely to the drinking of new milk, and then, when carnivorous longings came over him, he had to retire with a bullock to a lonely place in the forest, accompanied by some of his comrades, and a Ditto to act as cook. Having scrupulously made certain that there was no trace of milk left on their stomachs by partaking of an extremely powerful purgative, they killed the bullock either with a blow from a rungu or by stabbing it in the back of the neck. They then 262 884 [578] [757] [231]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

is that they receive no benefit from the cattle of their neighbours. "We get neither meat nor milk," they say; "why, therefore, should we fight for the preservation of your cattle?" With a consummate knowledge of the region, the Masai warriors threaded their way by special pathways, passing Taveta, and crossing the Nyika. Nearing the coast, they stowed themselves away in the bush, while a few of the bravest went forward to spy out the land, knowing, however, full well that the very sight of one of their number was quite sufficient to stampede a hundred Wa-nyika or Wa-digo. Sadi, indeed, told me that on one occasion he actually met some of these spies *in the town of Mombasa at midnight*. This is, I think, doubtful, but it shows what they are considered capable of; and there can be no doubt as to the astonishing hardihood of these scouts. Stories are continually heard to that effect, thus rendering the Masai a terror in the land; and it is a fact that they have even reached Bagamoyo, opposite Zanzibar.

The raid was, of course, successful, and our savage friends returned in great glee. On reaching their homes, however, matters had to be squared up, and the spoil divided. So many head of the captured cattle were set apart as the portion of the lybon Mbaratien, who had directed them so well, and whose medicines had been so potent. Then followed a sanguinary scene over the apportionment of the remainder. There was no attempt at a fair division. The braver men and bullies of the party, consulting only their own desires, took possession of such cattle as pleased them, and dared the rest to come and seize them. The understood rule was that if any warrior could hold his own in single combat against all comers for three days, the cattle were his. And thus began the real fighting of the expedition, revealing sickening sights of savage ferocity. There were more warriors killed over the division of the spoil than in the original capturing of it. To kill a man in this manner was considered all fair and above board. Blood feuds were unknown, a man not being considered worth avenging who could not hold his own life safe. If, however, a man was murdered treacherously, the criminal had to pay forty-nine bullocks. Our young warrior, as he was only as yet winning his spurs, had to be content with the honour and glory of the raid, and he had the modesty not to pit himself against abler and more ferocious fighters. It must be remembered that the cattle thus captured did not remain

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12.
Wa-Kwafi

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184 between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the sweetheart system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village,
262 and of course the young men cannot afford to live on meat,
184 though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-raids, they also contrive to eat a bullock by way of getting up their courage.

578 They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. The soil being the
132 very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and
134 spread over a comparatively level plain to the south of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren.
312 To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Guaso Tigirish and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread
262 the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet
241 and melons. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though when meat is scarce they are not
136 disdainful even of rats. Of these there were simply
123 myriads. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "oft in the stilly night" were heard imprecations loud and deep upon the wretched pests when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my toe invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under iron or hung up under sheds as represented on page 313.

157 As in the case of the Wa-taveta, the Wa-njempe are singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable
123 goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed took

another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicines obtained: a drought for instance might make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; in such a case the charm might get old and lose its efficiency; or perhaps the object of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what happened to his medicine and will be angry, if its fate is concealed from him.

After some years the boys are circumcised, and become moran warriors. As soon as most of them are circumcised the *ingopior* plan to form into separate companies in readiness for residence in warrior villages called *imanyat*. Messages are sent and the warriors of all clans are called together by means of an *ol-amal* just as the boys did before the *endungore* ceremony. The number of companies, called *i'sirit*, to be formed, also the names to be given to them are decided on beforehand by the *ingopiri* warriors. After discussion a division is decided upon. One warrior representing each company to be formed *leaves the assembly*, goes a *little* way and striking the haft of his spear with his club to attract attention, he calls: *"En alo Il Mirisho"* or *" En alo Il Tetiuri "—"* This way the Merisho, this way the Tetiuri." The warriors then rise and join the man calling the name of the company they wish to join.

Groups of five will go together, to join the same company. A company may include warriors of more than one clan though as a rule the majority are of the same clan.

If the warriors of one clan are too few to form a separate unit they join the unit of another clan. If the clan is a very big one, the warriors may form two or even more *sirits*. Having joined a *sirit* a warrior may retract at any time before that *sirit* forms the first warrior village. Once the warrior villages are formed, any warrior who leaves his *sirit* to join another, incurs the bitter resentment of the others. In some cases a fine of cattle is inflicted.

The *sirits* once formed, the warriors now approach the *il-piron* elders with a view to holding the ceremony of drilling—without which the first warrior village or manyata of new age-group may not be erected.

The *enthurgori* ceremony or the breaking of the fire stick, though it effectively holds up the circumcising ceremonies, is not finally binding. It sometimes happens that the medicine man decides that a left-hand circumcision shall be held, in which case all the boys, the *Il piron* planned to make their special care, will be lost to them, for the boys will be circumcised to form one age with the ——— or right-hand circumcision moran.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*embere sero*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned.

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal boma; for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters.

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the boma, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any boma. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in ol pul, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges in greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the bomas making their demands must have been considerably curtailed.

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent.

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the ngeherr ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

husbandry side, deciding which beasts shall be castrated, etc. He may also take bullocks and exchange them for heifers, or sell them at auctions and buy heifers. He is however expected to use his own reserve (*ongishu le boo*) for tax payments, and if he uses his wife's bullock he should later replace it with a heifer. When however the son takes over responsibility for his mother, the tax payable on their hut will be met by a bullock from the mother's herd.

When relations come to beg cattle, if they are clansmen of the husband, he should try to find cattle for them out of his own reserve, but may beg on their behalf from his wives. If a relation of one of his wives comes begging, the request should be met from that wife's herd, but the elder may also help from his own cattle. But wife B is not expected to assist the relations of wife A, and would in fact be very insulted if asked.

In the matter of milk and beer, the wife is in control. The husband should not go into the partitioned-off, private bed-chamber of the wife, where such drinks are kept. If the wife says the milk or beer is finished, the husband should accept her word, but if it is obviously untrue, he will at times look for himself. If he finds any, the wife is in the wrong; if he does not, he himself is: so in either case a quarrel starts.

Concerning cash realised by the sale of bullocks, the husband will grudgingly give it out to his wives for purchase of beads, wire, etc., but one sees no great display of generosity at auctions. When a man pays another's tax — the most frequent occasion on which one sees cash changing hands — the matter is always remembered and set off later, even in the case of a son.

Though these notes are only superficial, certain aspects of them must be regarded as important. In some cases the wives doubtless follow the advice of their husbands concerning the sale of stock, but they do possess rights of their own, on which — if strong-minded — they can insist. Thus if, for example, stock limitation were made compulsory, many an elder would be placed in an awkward position; if he refused to cull his stock, he would be prosecuted, if he arbitrarily sold his wives' beasts, he would have to face their wrath.

The introduction of economic schemes should, therefore, be preceded by consideration of their social aspects, so that the co-operation of the right person can be enlisted. It has been mentioned for instance that the women have complete control of the distribution of milk; it would appear, therefore, that the women should be consulted and agree to the establishment of any creamery or ghee manufacturing project, and that they should also directly enjoy its profits.

CONCLUSION.

In place of the administrative proposals with which this paper originally concluded, perhaps the writer may be permitted to substitute a few general reflections. These are based on 17 years' experience of purely District Administration in country ranging from the most unspoilt to the most heavily eroded, from the thickest of fly bush to the broadest

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-Unoto*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'oher*. The case stated by *Mr. Leakey*,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice.

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (*see* p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names.

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Mawi*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masinei sinati*, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones.

[1] *See* p. 200 of this volume.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group; these all belong to the Ir-Kidogi sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kayoite at Ngong (now living among the Loitai), the Kiwanjee, Il-Aikipiak, Il-Wuasin-Kishu and Isinkon also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Maasiland than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were:* (1) to mention war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorize the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical force for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 30). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

When the warriors of a unit wanted to raid, they approached their *el-aigwenak*, who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*el-arore*) was intended. The *il-aigwenak* concerned then went to the laibon to get his sanction and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon considered the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in very after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-payi* and feasted on meat to prepare them for the raid; patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Nyika being a frequent objective. Thomson was told that a Masai patrol was once seen in Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the *manyatta*, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-aa-rok-kiteng* and *il-aa-da-nanyi*, "the black ox" and "the red cows," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *el-arumpia*, carried out locally by one unit, were not returned to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmenteita, where two large collections of warriors (to put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kayoite, the other of the Il-Aikipiak. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, observed on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline was public encouragement by love and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Compared with most, and in the panoply of ostrich-feather head-dress, cape, gleaming spear, shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior felt himself more than a match for anyone.

Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed, women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which sucking mothers

* Fosbrooke, pp. 69-75.

/To cont./

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The principal activity of the ol nuunt consists in keeping the people of his district together and preventing them from splitting up, which could be more or less disastrous for the latter. Occasion for this is furnished by both the constant petty jealousies and friction between the warriors of the various areas, who, for example, not infrequently plan two war expeditions at the same time, instead of concentrating on one, and the short-sighted selfishness of many old men, who are inclined, in the selection of new pasturing places, to think only of the quality of the pasture, instead of also considering whether the warriors are in a position to protect the desired place from hostile attacks. An enemy's success affects not only the one who loses all his property in connection with it, but is a disgrace for the whole people. In such cases the ol nuunt asserts his authority. To

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one who does not obey him, the authority of the ol nuunt is, as a

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(L21)

rule, made clear by the others by means of a beating. Besides this activity, the ol nuunt, if necessary, acts as an intermediary between the people of his district and the ol olkeut, and sometimes his decision is requested in legal disputes, but since in this case he is guided very little by legal principles, but rather by political considerations, one cannot actually designate him as a judicial personage. The conjecture that the ol nuunt might have something to say in matters pertaining to the cult or might make magic sanders is obvious, but does not prove to be true.

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We have seen above that every two age classes form an association. If the members of this association have all been married a long time, the ol olkeut binds these even closer in that he bestows upon the two age classes, each of which -- which is to be said beforehand -- has its own name, a common name. This takes place at

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the ol ketiik festival. For this all the men of the association gather near the ol olkeut and build a large kraal in the vicinity of his village. Everyone brings honey for beermaking or a head of cattle for the feast. The latter is then killed by suffocation, as at the ol goliku festival. The festival consists of the consumption of these things, whose climax is formed by the declaration of the ol olkeut that these associated households belong to one association (ol nii), which only now actually exists and are to bear a common association-name.

/Ik cont./

black, the youths then paint their shields. The red color may appear in the ornamental head only with the carrying of the large red emblem. They carry the black emblem and the ornamental head until they have become the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability, to obtain the red emblem by obstinacy or force, for the warriors, of their own accord, will not let a younger age class carry these emblems. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they complete their shield ornaments in the aforesaid way and then carry it /it/ ostentatiously for show. The warriors see it, become angry, and scold. The ei hemat, for whom the warriors have until then been persons of respect, answer sappishly and impudently and scoff that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need nor deserve the red emblem any longer. No one likes to be reminded, of his inconvenience, and a second term of all calumnies the reproach -- for that is what it is for the one still in the warrior association -- of incompetence in war, especially if it is hurled at him in street-urchin fashion out of the taunting mouth of a younger person. At the same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and move in, possibly even before it is filled with huts -- a further provocation of the warriors, for with that the ei hemat declare that they too now have a right to their own warrior kraal and are no longer to be regarded as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the growing kraal in order to make the point clear to the ei hemat with force. If the latter are defeated, nothing remains for them for the time being but to scratch the red emblems from their shields again with all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by scolding and by one or two small raids against Negro tribes. Sometimes the warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have brought rich spoils, but often too they must force their recognition as before. If this succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the kraal that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long; rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and marry. It is therefore an exception if there are two warrior kraals in one region at the same time.

[Warrior Eraal]

/87 cont./

701 554 [714] [534] fighting, large leg bells (el duallan kirwa), the tinkling of which in the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

[556] A special position is also occupied by the ɛ gɛmisiai a benefactor. They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive cows for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

701 703 577 Accordingly, miserliness is sharply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to lie helpless.

701 578 [554] Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to duelling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely [683] wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometime, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine consisting of livestock: in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In [431] general immediately after the duel /88/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also 701 the exchange of the skin cape (e megit). The matter becomes more 578 serious if one is killed in a duel. Then the father of the victor is then 682 condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one robbed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

[Warrior kraal]

/88 cont./
of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

Ill. 88. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district: a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called ol arbai (pl. ol arbaji), not en dito (e dito) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

/89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal: for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime: a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an ol bul (lunar mat, see p.111 above) or with other people.

[Warrior Kraal]

224 /91 cont./ A few intrepid warriors also
701 leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule soon return unsuccessful.

721 If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (ol aigwenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /92/ promised their participation and have also pressed their speakers, who then all together go to the ol aumoni with whose consent the war becomes a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the ol oiboni is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Masai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

[526] 1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Masai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the ol aumoni or one of the speakers lets himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the vacillating ones ol kuconu, that is, blacksmiths. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may leave his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the reviled ones.

• [578]

721 If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority
726 make an end to further debate by invoking the en dorosi, a sort of
714 Rütli oath. /Rütli, a meadow in Switzerland where the first league of the three cantons was formed in 1307./ Then every warrior of the kraals concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

/109 cont./

861 A father reprimands his disobedient child with the words eñ gulugoni eñ gob, that is, you are like a piece of earth or dirt, or eñ dian eñ gob, dirty fellow, or os soid eñ gob, dirty stone.

578 192 Invectives and curses are:

ol meneñani (or eñ meneñani) = skeleton, as remains of a decayed corpse:

ol ag' ischobo (Ehg ai eñ sbiak, which means: may God give you the serious sickness "sbiak":

es súti = dirt, dust, that is, if only one could sweep you out of the hut like the dirt:

ol agaeschertete = fall down:

ol agana 'Ng ai, that is, may 'Ng ai take you away:

ol agatodóro ol assurai = may the snake bite you:

ol againasis ol ugaru = may the lion devour you:

ol agatadoijirit eñg olon = go away along with the sun:

ol agoimisso or redji = may your footprints be lost, that is, may you disappear entirely.

Bantering expressions that may sometimes be meant rudely are used by boys and youths to one another:

/110/

ol orobó ñ otonji = accumbens matri /one who lies with his mother/:

ol orobó eñg arnasche = accumbens sorori /one who lies with his sister/:

hai, eñg inobi = hi, anus (neutrius generis) /these old fogies (neutral in gender)/:

hai, ol gorom = nates /buttocks/.

The last two are used teasingly both by young girls to the warriors and the latter among themselves. Furthermore warriors insult one another with ol kiregen = accumbens uxori alienae /one who lies with another's wife/; and os sinoni = scorned by the girls, ol orobó eñg ikau énje = accumbens filiae maximae natu /one who lies with his oldest daughter/, ol orobó 'ng abudani = accumbens matri uxoris /one who lies with his wife's mother/. If a married man were to use toward his wife such vulgar invectives that had reference to her parents, the latter -- according to the assurances of the people -- would immediately take their daughter back and return the bride price to the man.

[593] [586]

/110 cont./

578 192 man. From young girls among themselves one hears: eñ orobó menje = accumbens patri /one who lies with her father/, eñ orobó 'l aiabe = accumbens fratri /one who lies with her brother/.

Used by warriors toward young girls: hai em balísch = you, vulva; hai, e mówo = you, clitoris.

Younger children insult one another:

ñotonji eñ gomos = vagina matris;

ol agambai Ñg ai = hated by 'Ng ai;

tababuá = stumble;

ol agaischiri Ñg ai = cry to God (when you get a beating);

e mai = stupid fellow;

hai ol madai (or e madai) = you stupid fellow (stupid girl);

id' ol airirua, you are a blockhead;

id ol bua, you are a rowdy;

id' ol dillo endoi, that is, you are indeed mad. The term ol [136] dillo, which here means madman, is formed from the like-named bird, the red-headed Anaplectes melanotis, one of the many species of the weaver birds native to East Africa. If one en route hears it call- [777] ing on the steppe from the left side, it means good luck, but if it [825] calls to the right of the traveler the latter will soon encounter a misfortune.

Ol agatar' em baie, that is, die by an arrow, ol agawa ol gollug = die of fever; ol bebedo = of the upele sickness; ol minjaloi = of smallpox; eñ gobogge = of stomach or intestinal sickness; ol agataremo el gigaret = may the thorns prick you; ol agatarigi ol mairon = may your belly burst from eating; ol agairokischo = become black; ol agoibarra = rogue, brawler; g ar' ol marenge = slanderer, gossiper; ol duñgani serseri = bad fellow; ol duñgani guret = coward.

201 To express contempt one spits before the person concerned or at him.

The large number of invectives stands in contrast to a striking 192 poverty in terms of endearment. 593

/111/ The mother designates her child as 'l aischa 'Ng ai = child given me by God, as eñ gutok e ñjo = mouth of the mother, or as ol oib e ñjo = resting place of the mother. The father calls it ara ñgotonji = child of the wife. Older brothers and sisters talk fondly to younger ones with the term ara e ñjo = child of mother.

/112 cont./

564 326 [192] [784] [578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it; it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kononi" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 326 709 829 [783] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous; if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expresly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them [563] who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

/160 cont./

805 821 132 The months of the ol airodjerod are: 1. le logunja airodjerod, also called oiśni oiñok, that is, the tied-up bulls. As a result of the rich fodder of the recent months, they have become wild; in the pasture they would be constantly fighting with one another, hence they are separated. 2. bolos (= middle) airodjerod, or also, but more rarely, called ol dāt. 3. kudjorok, that is, cold; cool weather distinguishes this month.

805 821 132 261 262 [578] The ol amĕ́ii starts with the month kibĕ́r, that is, noise and strife. The pasture is sparse and as a consequence the cows give too little milk to satisfy all the people. Everyone tries to appropriate for himself some of the milk from the livestock of others, through which strife and brawls arise. Finally the milk no longer extends to necessitous satiation, and the majority of the warriors with a few cattle move into the forest for meat eating, which usually lasts not only through the entire month, but also even over the next month of ol dońgos or ol doños or ol dońgosch, since even then the milk is still very scant. The name seems to be formed from the word eh guschusch = food scarcity. Not until the beginning of the third month, of the boschogge, do they return to the kraals. From the [296] abundant meat meals they feel very strong, and the heavy use of nerve-stimulating roots has affected their nerves to a high degree, and almost daily one or another has a fit of rage (1).

1. Cf. XIX, Nerve Ailments.

805 The Masai do not count years. Rather, they designate the year after the event seeming to them the most important one that happened during it, for example, after a livestock epidemic, a drought, the death of the high chief, a war expedition especially rich in spoils, etc. (2).

[171] 2. Just as the Babylonians, even in the 3rd millennium B.C., did not count the years, but gave each year a name after an outstanding event in it, especially after the deeds of the king. One proceeded similarly